

Message Text

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62

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 191644Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 221

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T VIENNA 8686

GENEVA FOR CSCE AND SALT DELS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: US OPENING STATEMENT

REF: (A) STATE 204555; (B) STATE 207141

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPORTS ON THE STATUS
OF THE US OPENING STATEMENT FOR THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
AND MAKES A SUGGESTION REGARDING POSSIBLE WESTERN
UNILATERAL STATEMENTS ABOUT ABSTENTION FROM CHANGES
WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS. ACTION REQUESTED:
GUIDANCE, IF POSSIBLE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS LOCAL
TIME, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23. END SUMMARY.

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2. SEPTTEL CONTAINS TEXT OF US OPENING STATEMENT AS SLIGHTLY AMENDED IN AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS OCTOBER 16 AND 18. PRESENT STATUS OF TEXT IS THAT UK HAS DROPPED PRIOR OBJECTIONS TO PARAGRAPHS 26 AND 27 (SEE SEPTTEL FOR DETAILS OF DISCUSSION) AND AMONG EARLIER OBJECTIONS, ONLY BELGIAN CRITICISMS HAVE NOT LAPSED OR BEEN WITHDRAWN. AS WE READ IT, HOWEVER, BELGIANS HERE DO NOT INTEND TO PRESS ISSUE. THIS IS THE MORE SO SINCE, ALTHOUGH WILLOT DENIES IT, THE INCLUSION IN THE BELGIAN SPEECH OF A SENTENCE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GREAT POWERS HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING THE FIRST STEP IN MBFR WOULD APPEAR TO REMOVE THE BASIS FOR THE ORIGINAL BELGIAN COMPLAINT THAT US STATEMENT'S MENTION OF POSSIBLE FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES CLEARLY EXCEEDED TERMS FORESEEN IN THE AGREED NATO PAPER. ADDRESSEES WILL NOTE THAT THE FORMULA ON COMMON CEILING IN PARA 25 HAS BEEN CORRECTED TO REFER TO FORCES OF "EACH" SIDE. VIENNA 8578 ERRONEOUSLY REFERS TO "EITHER" SIDE.

3. WITH REGARD TO STATE 207141 CONTAINING INSTRUCTION TO DELETE PARAGRAPH OF US SPEECH CONTAINING REFERENCE, WE HAVE DONE SO IN CURRENT TEXT SEPTTEL. HOWEVER, IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO INCLUDE IN THE FINAL TEXT OF THE US SPEECH SOME REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT, MORE LIMITED IN ITS TERMS THAN THE ORIGINAL WORDING OF THE US DRAFT STATEMENT IN ORDER TO HEAD OFF NASCENT UK-FRG PUSH FOR A PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINT BASED ON OBLIGATION NOT TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE MILITARY SITUATION DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. IT MAY ALSO BE DESIRABLE ON ITS OWN MERITS TO MAKE SOME UNILATERAL STATEMENT OF EXPECTATIONS, HOWEVER LIMITED, ON THIS SUBJECT. IT WOULD REPRESENT RULE OF REASON FOR A NEGOTIATION ON THE MBFR SUBJECT MATTER. IN ADDITION, WE MIGHT WISH LATER TO BUILD ON THIS CONCEPT IN THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION CONTEXT.

5. DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE NOTED THAT CANADIAN STATE-SECRET

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MENT APPROVED BY AD HOC GROUP ON OCTOBER 9 (TEXT IN USNATO 4809) CONTAINS STATEMENT AT END OF SIXTH PARAGRAPH, "FURTHERMORE, IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY MEASURES TAKEN BY ANY PARTY TO INCREASE THE SIZE OF ITS FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS." IN AD HOC GROUP SESSION OCTOBER 19,

FRG TABLED NEW DRAFT SPEECH. ITS NEXT TO LAST PARAGRAPH ENDS WITH STATEMENT, "IT SHOULD GO WITHOUT SAYING THAT THESE CHANCES WOULD EQUALLY BE STRENGTHENED BY THE CONFIDENCE THAT NO PARTICIPANT WOULD COMPLICATE OUT TAKS EVEN MORE THROUGH INTRODUCING MAJOR CHANGES IN ITS FORCES AND THEIR DEPLOYMENT." US DEP REP TOOK FRG REP ASIDE FOLLOWING TABLING OF THIS NEW DRAFT AND EXPLAINED DIFFICULTY WASHINGTON HAS WITH THIS GENERAL CONCEPT, USING ALL POINTS IN REF (B). FRG REP INDICATED HE BELIEVED BONN MIGHT BE WILLING TO CHANGE WORDING, BUT PROBABLY WOULD WANT SOME REFERENCE TO TOPIC IN SPEECH.

6. WE BELIEVE POSSIBLE WAY OF MEETING CONSIDERATIONS ABOVE MIGHT BE TO INSERT FOLLOWING LANGUAGE IN PLACE OF PARAGRAPH WHICH HAS BEEN DROPPED: "IN CONDUCTING THESE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MILITARY FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WE WILL ASSUME THAT THOSE PARTICIPANTS CONCERNED WILL WISH TO EXERCISE SELF-RESTRAINT IN NOT INCREASING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF THEIR FORCES IN THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN AREA DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS." WE STRONGLY AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE A TACTICAL ERROR TO USE LANGUAGE CREATING AN OPENING FOR A POSSIBLE SOVIET PUSH FOR A FORCE LEVEL AGREEMENT ON INDIGENOUS FORCES AT THE OUTSET OF THE TALKS. BUT THE FACT THAT THE US HAS EXPRESSED AN EXPECTATION WHICH IS UNILATERAL, NOT BINDING ON ANYONE, INCLUDING WESTERN EUROPEANS, AND VALID ONLY FOR THE PERIOD OF THE TALKS MAY BE OUR BEST DEFENSE AGAINST SUCH A SOVIET PUSH, WHILE RETAINING NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE WHICH MIGHT FLOW FROM SOVIET DESIRE TO HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE, BINDING AND LASTING FLA.

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7. REQUEST GUIDANCE ON ABOVE POSSIBILITY AND LINE WASHINGTON WISHES US TO TAKE WITH CANADIANS AND FRG, IF POSSIBLE BY OCTOBER 23. HUMES

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